4: Up de Graff--205 [2] (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 251, 263

"The meat-racks of which we have spoken are built to some four feet in height and placed over the fires, keeping the fish and meat outside the radius of the flames, and allowing it to be cured in the smoke. The Antipas have no salt."

4: Up de Graff--219 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
251

"A woman stretches out her hand and selects a piece of yuca from the pot. She puts it in her mouth and chews it to a pulp resembling mashed potatoes; satisfied that it has reached the desired state, she deposits it on the ever-growing pile of the same pulp, which stands within reach of all on banana leaves. This is the giamanchi, the staff of life. (Preserbed with the human saliva, it will last for six months if stored in crocks and buried in the ground against contact with light or air. When the time comes for it to be consumed, or in other words, when the proper amount of fermentation has taken place, it is mixed with water in a gourd until it looks and tasted like buttermilk. The whole idea is to our modern minds repulsive, but my own experiments have proved that there is no other way (in the woods) of preserving arrowroot. It is a highly sustaining starchy tuber, containing 80 per cent. starch as against the potato's 20 per cent. Cooked when fresh, it is light and fluffy--a delicious vegetable dish."

4: Up de Graff--233-234 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 251

"Finding plenty of hog-tracks in the vicinity, we de[233]cided to hunt them down and cure their meat against the day when we should be setting off up-stream once more. The meat of these hogs or peccariesi seems to preserve its flavour, despite the daily smoking to which it mustbe subjected to protect it from insects, better than any other meat to be found in the forest. Of this game there are two species, the huangana and the sajina (both Inca); the former is more the shape of a domestic pig than anything else, is black, and weighs about a hundred pounds; it carries a musk-sack on the middle of the back, the use of which is somewhat obscure to me; perhaps it may be a form of protection against insects; anyway, a man can track them through the woods by scent as easily as a hound follows a hare, so powerful is the smell they leave behind them on every object against which they rub. It is armed with a pair of fine tusks set in the lower jaw, which it uses both to dig up roots, and to rip the entrails out of its antagonists, the jaguars. The latter are afraid of them, but occasionally follow a herd in the hopes of being able to grab a young hog and make off with it. Not always do they succeed, and when caught their fate is sealed. They are torn to pieces by the infuriated beasts and devoured, head, tail skin and feet. The huangana will eat snakes, lizards, and anything else that he can find. The herd can be smelt a full mile away if the wind is set right, and long before one is found it will be heard rooting and snuffling in the ground, cracking nuts, one animal fighting another for the tidbits which the monkeys have dropped. The herd often numbers two hundred or more and will attack on sight. To approach

these beasts is easy, for they are too busily occupied in searching for food; their sight and scent are not highly developed, no doubt because they have never had to fear anything that walks in the woods. If you are stalking these animals you will be wise to select [234]your tree before you cover the last fifty yards (and see that the tree contains no ants' nor hornets' nests!) When the nearest huangana sees you, he will utter his war-cry--an ominous rattling of his tusks--which is taken up by the whole herd. A noise is produced which is at the same time fearful and wonderful. It is like a thousand pairs of castanets. It echoes and re-echoes round the woods until it seems to come from every tree. With what terrific speed the lower jaws of this animal must vibrate to give out such a volume of sound may well be imagined.

Select your tree, then, and stand ready to jump as soon as you have fired your shots. The herd will start milling round looking for something to charge, until it sees your smoke, or a movement of your body. Then jump! And may the branch bear your weight, or you will shoot no more huanganas!

The herd, usually sweeps on under the tree and leaves the hunter to descend in peace, pick up the kill, and make his way back to camp. In any event you will be left in peace, if you are not located by sight or scent, for the hogs will go tearing off in one great avalanche, charging some imaginary enemy, and will not pull up until they have covered four or five miles and feel like settling down to continue their feed."

The Indians frequently go on hunting expeditions in regions that have plenty of wild life. They bring the entire household (men, women, children, dogs, and especially large containers with masato) into a canoe and paddle to the hunting area. These hunting expeditions sometimes last for weeks and frequently even for months. The meat which they obtain is soon made into a durable preserve; part of the meat, however, is eaten right away. To smoke the meat, the natives build on four low posts a grill (size: one square meter) of closely placed bamboo sticks. The meat is placed upon the grill. On top the grill is covered with a roof of palm leaves. A fire is made under the grill, and the natives see to it that there is more smoke than open flames. In this manner the meat is dried and smoked at the same time. The Indians call this apparatus pungámo. Our crewmen frequently built these pungámos close to our camping sites whenever the hunt had yielded more than we needed at the moment. Over the roof the Indians dried their itipes, if they had gotten wet.

When the Indians return from such a hunting expedition, they invite all the neighbors to a big festival. On these occasions, the rubber collectors told us, they eat up in a few days what they had hunted in many a month.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

415 beer making, while shorter ones store the water with which
273 the men rinse their mouths upon arising and after eating.
[271] Other gourds are cut in half and perforated to serve as sieves
[515] in straining manioc fibers out of the beer. Tree gourds are
[484] used by men as canteens for carrying the thick beer mash when hunting or traveling far.

285 Three kinds of baskets are made, all by the men: a plaited
415 openwork basket used primarily for carrying and storing food; a wickerwork type for carrying fish; and a relatively
[462] insect-proof plaited and double-walled basket with a banana
• [251] leaf lining and a cover for storing featherwork and other
[226] personal effects. Matting is unknown.
[296]

411 Virtually every adult male possesses at least one firearm for hunting and fighting. While there are a few ancient Win-
439 chester .44 carbines obtained from the Achuara, almost all the
[197] guns are Spanish-made muzzle-loading shotguns of recent manufacture secured primarily from trading partners dwelling in the region of white contact in the Río Upano Valley.

Most of the Winchester carbines, although originally pump-action weapons, are so worn that they can function only as
[438] single-shot weapons. For fighting, they are loaded with highly valued .44 pistol cartridges obtained through native trading partners from the Achuara, who in turn secure the cartridges
224 from other trading partners in Peru. For hunting, the car-
411 tridges are simply reloaded with black powder and shot, and the cartridge primer is replaced with the type used on muzzle-loading shotguns.

411 The shotguns, percussion-cap weapons usually with a 20-
438 gauge bore, are much preferred over the Winchesters for hunting and also are much more plentiful throughout the
[224] tribe due to their steady acquisition by means of the native trading partnerships. They are loaded with black powder

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

527 Parties, centering around massive beer drinking and *tsawa-*
[273] *mast*, or social dances, are the main form of regular group
[515] interaction with neighbors. Most typically they occur when
a man has worked hard for several days felling trees to
expand the garden and wishes to invite a few neighbors
• [251] to spend a night in recreation with him. He instructs his
wives to make a large quantity of beer and then during
the next few days does much hunting until he has brought
home a good quantity of meat (that which is obtained
first is roasted and kept dry and unsalted in a basket high
[278] over a fire). By this time the beer has fermented sufficiently,
and he goes to the houses of several friendly neighbors who
are also usually close relatives.

574 Such parties, usually on a slightly smaller scale, also can
simply occur when another family happens to drop by on
an afternoon to visit or stay overnight, if there is a respect-
[285] able beer supply on hand. In the latter case, when the party
is unplanned, a chicken or two may be killed for meat, since
the host may not have wild game meat immediately on hand.
[293] Planned parties occur when chonta palm fruit is harvested
[752] and made into beer, and also to celebrate when someone has
survived snakebite.

527 After the visitors have been drinking and conversing for
534 a few hours, a few flutes and a monkey skin drum will be
535 brought out, and a kind of "jam session" begins. Soon the
527 women put on small shell dance belts, and the drinkers begin
to dance in pairs, males facing females. The woman hops
up and down, her shell belt tinkling the rhythm, while her
male partner steps back and forth or strolls casually around
[395] while beating the drum. As darkness falls, copal torches are
lit, and the party often continues until the middle of the night
593 or early morning. As the pairs of men and women dance
535 opposite each other, they sing in a kind of counterpoint,
527

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726 they drink from jars of beer placed before them, and the one declares, "I am very hungry. Bring me plenty of fish." This
[829] is a metaphorical allusion to the Achuara, who subsist on
[226] fish much more than the Jivaro, and to the custom which are
• [251] to be brought back wrapped up in cloth, much as fish are
[727] brought from the river wrapped in moist leaves to keep them fresh.

701 The *kakaram* warrior sponsoring the raid is usually the ex-
624 pedition leader or chief. There is no special title for this role,
726 beyond the usual *uunt*. There may be two war chiefs if the
[559] neighborhood that has the biggest representation in the expedition is one other than the sponsor's. The war leader(s) is theoretically expected to be strictly obeyed by the other members of the party, but only for the duration of the expedition, while it is in hostile territory.

[707] Obedience, even on a war expedition, is often not as rigor-
[789] ous in practice as it is in theory. Any member of the party who tells the war leader that he has "dreamed badly" and therefore would like to avoid participating in the attack, is invariably excused from such participation. In the actual attack, some of the inexperienced and less aggressive warriors are backed up by a few *kakaram* who encourage their advance forward.

701 Since the war expedition is normally composed of men
703 from a number of neighborhoods, some of whom are bound
602 to be enemies of others, the members of the party tend to
628 be organized into a "buddy system" in which pairs of close
726 relatives "cover" one another from examination by another expedition member. In this manner, it is possible to organize a large force despite the fact that many of its members may be enemies. This system has undoubtedly contributed to the ability of the Jivaro to ally against outside invaders in the past.